

## Message Text

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TO ALL AMERICAN REPUBLIC DIPLOMATIC POSTS  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 213345

FOLLOWING REPEAT COLOMBO 3181 DTG 231110Z AUG 76  
ACTION SECSTATE INFO NAC COLLECTIVE BERN GUATEMALA  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L COLOMBO 3181

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, CE, US  
SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY: NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE:  
LEADERSHIP

BEGIN SUMMARY: FEW SPECTATORS, PARTICIPANTS, OR EVEN NAM  
RIVALS, DISAGREE WITH OUR EVALUATION THAT, OPERATING  
TOGETHER, INDIA, SRI LANKA, AND YUGOSLAVIA EXERCISED  
THE PREDOMINANT LEADERSHIP AT COLOMBO'S NON-ALIGNED  
CONFERENCE. NOTWITHSTANDING CERTAIN INTERNAL FRICTIONS,  
THAT TROIKA WAS ABLE TO COOPERATE AND DRAW, ONE ON THE  
OTHER, FOR RESOURCES AND ADVANTAGES VIA-A-VIA OTHER  
MEMBERS. AT THE SAME TIME, FOR REASONS NOT NECESSARILY  
ASSOCIATED WITH ANY OF THE THREE, OTHER CONTENDERS  
LOST POWER OR AT LEAST DID NOT WIELD IT AT THIS  
SESSION. CERTAIN MEMBERS, NEW AND OLD, RADICAL AND  
MODERATE, ASSERTED IMPORTANT LEADERSHIP OF SECOND  
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DEGREE MAGNITUDE. END SUMMARY.

1. THROUGH WHAT WE BELIEVE TO HAVE BEEN A CAREFULLY WORKED OUT STRATEGY ORCHESTRATED PRIOR TO THE MAY-JUNE ALGIERS MEETING OF THE NACC, INDIA, SRI LANKA, AND YUGOSLAVIA, RECOGNIZING THAT NONE ALONE WOULD BE ABLE TO EXERCISE DOMINANT LEADERSHIP AT THE NAC, AGREED TO JOIN FORCES TOWARD THAT END, AND TO SUBLIMATE INTERNAL DIFFERENCES WHEN NECESSARY. YUGOSLAVIA HAD THE WILL, MANPOWER, TRADITION, AND REPUTATION; INDIA THE APPARENT DESIRE TO REASSERT ITSELF AND ABILITY TO INFLUENCE, AMONG OTHERS, SRI LANKA. SRI LANKA, IN TURN, HAD THE ADVANTAGE OF BEING THE HOST COUNTRY AND THE AUTHOR OF THE DRAFT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DECLARATIONS. SRI LANKA HAD ALSO LEARNED FROM ALGERIA'S EXAMPLE, AND UNDER ADMITTEDLY TANZANIAN TUTELAGE, THAT MUCH POWER CAN BE EXERCISED BY DELAYING PROCESSING OF AMENDMENTS, AND BY HONING TO THE PRINCIPLE THAT SHOULD THE AMENDMENT PROCESS PROVE UNSATISFACTORY, ORIGINAL (I.E. SRI LANKAN) TEXTS SHOULD BE ACCEPTED. FURTHER, THE LEADES OF EACH OF THESE COUNTRIES, TO VARIOUS DEGREES, WISHED THEIR NATION TO EXERT STRONGER NAM LEADERSHIP. THE CHARISMA OF TITO AND INDIRA GANDHI DID NOT IMPEDE THEIR EFFORTS ONE BIT. OF THE THREE, YUGOSLAVIAN LEADERSHIP WAS MORE EVIDENT AND DECISIVE AT CRITICAL MOMENTS.

2. UNDER THEIR LEADERSHIP, THE CONFERENCE ASSUMED A "MODERATE" TONE. THIS CHARACTERIZATION IS, OF COURSE, USED IN A VERY RELATIVE WAY. THE LANGUAGE WAS "MODERATE" AND LEADERS SUCH AS THOSE MENTIONED ABOVE WERE "MODERATE", NOT IN COMPARISON NECESSARILY WITH LANGUAGE OR STATEMENTS WHICH WE WOULD HAVE WISHED OURSELVES, BUT IN COMPARISON WITH DESIDERATA SET FORTH BY THE LIKES OF THE DPRK, CUBA, ET AL.

3. AS IN MOST CONTESTS FOR LEADERSHIP, COMPROMISES INEVITABLY WERE INVOLVED: IN THIS CASE, ON LANGUAGE, AND SURELY IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE NACC. AND, TO A DEGREE, ANTI-DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURES ALSO WERE TOLERATED OR, IN FACT, FOSTERED, TO ENSURE LEADERSHIP CONFIDENTIAL

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OF AT LEAST THE ACCEPTANCE OF CERTAIN POSITIONS. ACCORDINGLY, WHILE THE CHAIRMAN OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE DRAFTING GROUP, UN PERM REP SALIM (TANZANIA) HAD, ON CERTAIN ISSUES, A STRONG BIAS AGAINST "MODERATION" SUCH WAS ALLOWED TO THE DEGREE NECESSARY, IN ORDER TO CONTAIN ANY SERIOUS THREATS TO THE TROIKA'S MANAGEMENT OF THE CONFERENCE AS A WHOLE. AND, MOST OF THE CONTROVERSIES WHICH DID EXIST DURING THE

CONFERENCE WERE LIMITED TO THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE. ON MANY DECISIONS, THE TROIKA MAINTAINED A LOW PROFILE WITHIN THAT COMMITTEE WHILE, BEHIND THE SCENES, MANIPULATING THE KEY DECISIONS.

4. ALGERIA, INTENSELY PREOCCUPIED WITH THE QUESTION OF THE SAHARA, WAS CLEARLY AND, WE BELIEVE, UNINTENTIONALLY, OUTFLANKED.

5. AN IMPORTANT NEW ARRIVAL, VIETNAM, DEMONSTRATED OFTEN IN ITS OWN TROIKA WITH CAMBODIA AND LAOS, THAT IT IS A FORCE TO BE RECKONED WITH WITHIN THE MOVEMENT. LEAVING LAOTIANS TO PLAY AGGRESSIVE ROLE IN ASEAN DISPUTE, VIETNAMESE DELEGATION IMPRESSED CONFERENCE WITH MODERATION OF ITS POSITIONS AND DIGNITY OF ITS CONDUCT. THIS PROBABLY WAS IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN DECISION TO GIVE IT NACC SEAT AGAINST OBSTREPEROUS CLAIMS OF DPRK. THE NO-SHOW OF KIM II-SUNG AND FIDEL CASTRO GREATLY HINDERED DPRK AND CUBAN LEADERSHIP PROSPECTS. DPRK FOUND CONFERENCE UNDISPOSED TO HAVING FOREIGN MINISTERS MEET IN PYONGYANG, AS WELL AS UNRECEPTIVE TO ITS PLEAS FOR NACC SEAT. ALTHOUGH ITS TEXTS ON KOREAN SITUATION WERE ACCEPTED, THEY MET WITH STRONG OPPOSITION AND NAM-RECORD BREAKING FOURTEEN (AT LAST COUNT) RESERVATIONS. SIMILARLY ON THE ECONOMIC SIDE, AS WELL AS TO A DEGREE ON PUERTO RICO, THE CUBANS TOOK A LICKING. PRECISE REASONS, HOWEVER, AS TO WHY CUBA CHOSE NOT TO EXERCISE FORCEFULNESS ARE UNCLEAR EVEN TO SUCH CLOSE OBSERVERS AS JOB (YUGOSLAVIA). THEY MAY, OF COURSE, BE RELATED TO CUBA'S DESIRE NOT TO DISCOURAGE HAVANA FROM BECOMING SITE OF NEXT NAC. JOB BELIEVES, BY THE WAY, THAT FIDEL'S ABSENCE MAY

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BE RELATED TO HIS CONCERN OVER SECURITY HERE.

6. AS USUALLY IS THE CASE, CERTAIN OTHER COUNTRIES EXERTED AN EFFECTIVE ROLE ON INDIVIDUAL ISSUES IN WHICH THEY ARE PRIMARILY INTERESTED. SENEGAL, FOR INSTANCE, WAS IMPORTANT IN TEMPERING CUBAN ECONOMIC BOILER PLATE AND ALGERIAN DRAFT ON SAHARA. PANAMA, OF COURSE, WAS ACTIVE ON CANAL, TANZANIA ON SOUTHERN AFRICA; GUYANA AND JAMAICA WERE OBSESSED WITH "DESTABILIZATION" IN LTAIN AMERICA, LIBERIA, TO A DEGREE OCCASIONED BY THE PRESENCE OF FONMIN DENNIS, WAS VOCAL WHENEVER (HOWEVER RARELY) SALIM CHOSE TO ALLOW A MODERATE TO SPEAK. INDONESIA WAS ACTIVE CONCERNING SOUTH EAST ASIA; MADAGASCA ON IOPZ, MOROCCO ON SAHARA; AND THE PLO, NATURALLY,

CONCERNING THE MIDDLE EAST.

7. NEVER RADICALS TRIED TO GET THEIR TWO CENTS IN ON VIRTUALLY EVERY ISSUE--A ATIME-CONSUMING AND OFTEN LUDICROUS SPECTACLE. MOZAMBIQUE, GUINEA-BISSAU, ANGOLA AND BENIN FALL INTO THIS CATEGORY. AMONG OLDER AFRICAN RADICALS, MALI DID NOT PLAY A VITAL ROLE, SOMALIA WAS ACTIVE CONCERNING DJIBOUTI.

8. ALL AGREE THAT A CHARTER MEMBER OF NAM-EGYPT- SUFFERED AN EMBARRASSING DEFEAT WHEN IT WAS NOT INCLUDED IN THE NEW NACC, ITS STRONG ATTEMPTS TO THE CONTRARY NOTWITHSTANDING. OF LAST YEAR'S NACC, SYRIA, NEPAL, AND KUWAIT DO NOT APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN ESPECIALLY ACTIVE AT COLOMBO. TWO AFRICAN COUNTRIES WHICH WE HAD THOUGHT WOULD BE MORE VOCAL, MAURITIUS (AS OAU CHAIRMAN) AND NIGERIA, MAINTAINED A LOW PROFILE. PERU, ON THE OTHER HAND, SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN AN IMPORTANT FORCE FOR MODERATION AMONG NACC MEMBERS (SEPTEL), AS WAS ZAIRE.

9. ABILITY OF INDIAN-SRI LANKAN-YUGOSLAV GROUPING TO RETAIN LEADERSHIP DEPENDS NOW TO DEGREE ON DYNAMICS OF NEW NACC, CUBAN MACHINATIONS IN PREPARATION FOR HAVANA SUMMIT, AND INCLINATION OF OTHERS TO DISPLACE THEM.

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